Three Epoch-Making Resolutions

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(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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HINDI, HINDUSTANI AND URDU

(*By Maganbhai P. Desai*)

In the course of the discussion on the education demand in Parliament, Sheth Govinddas and Shri P. D. Tandon expressed themselves on Hindi, Hindustani and Urdu. Both of them strongly opposed Urdu, and alleged that while the Education Ministry helped Urdu and Hindustani, it did not help Hindi. Urdu is a foreign language, hence it would be improper to encourage it, because it would injure Indian culture — such a queer and narrow view was expressed also.

Some institutions were cited to show how Urdu and Hindustani were helped and it was hinted that the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan was not. Therefore Maulana Azad had to intervene to say that the Sammelan was also well helped by Government.

It is painful to see that all this took place on the floor of the House. However, in a way it was good in so far as it revealed the true mind of the U.P. Hindi protagonists. If at all it is still necessary to show how the language policy of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan is wrong and improper from the point of view of the Constitution, the speeches of the above two Hindi Sahitya Sammelan leaders gave abundant proof for that.

At one time Shri Tandonji described Urdu as a part of Hindi — as its style. He accepted Gandhiji's definition of Hindi and worked with him. Thus Hindi became a big thing. Today he describes Urdu as separate and foreign. Consequently, like Urdu, Hindi also becomes a small thing — one of the regional languages of the U.P. However, it is being said that this Hindi was the national language of India!

The common all-India language of the country is clearly defined in Art. 351 of the Constitution. It will be the language which may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the Composite Culture of India and will assimilate for its growth and development from the rich treasures of Hindustani and other languages of India like Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, Gujarati etc.

This language is also called Hindi by the Constitution. But there should be no confusion on that count. However the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan exactly does such a confusion. It is high time the Central Government clarifies the point and tells us that the Hindi of the Constitution is a different thing from the regional Hindi.

It is necessary, in this connection, to understand a strain of difference between the official language of the Union and the common all-India language also. In a way all the languages of India are equally placed in their respective importance. All these are spoken by the vast number of our countrymen, and therefore all of them, in equal right, may be styled the national languages of our people. Only, one of them is chosen as the inter-State and all-India medium of expression; and this is the one that is spoken by the largest minority of our people. This language is so chosen, not because of its any intrinsic merit or of its literature, but because it is basically the language spoken by 15 to 20 crores of us. This is surely not the language which the leaders of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan school of thought understand and propagate as Hindi. This literary Hindi might be the language of only a few crores. The language of the 15 to 20 crores is what Gandhiji said as Hindustani. It is now upto us to develop and enrich this basic language so that it may be the fit vehicle of the great culture of our people. This will also give us the official language of the Union. Such a language does not cease to be what the nation called Hindustani merely because it is named Hindi by the Constitution; nor does this all-India medium become Hindi as understood by Shri Tandonji and others.

There is one another thing also which deserves to be noted. Urdu is spread over the whole region from Panjab to Patna. Late Shri Jinnah, in the wake of his two nation theory, propagated that Hindi was the language of the Hindus and Urdu of the Mussalmans; and thus split the regional language of the U.P. into two exclusive camps. Urdu was thought of as the common language of Pakistan. So long as India was undivided, there might be some sense in saying that Urdu was the language of the Mussalmans, because it is an Indian language. But where is Urdu in Pakistan? Sindh has Sindhi, Baloochistan has Baloochi, E. Bengal has

Bengali, the N.W.F.P. has Pashto; if at all there is some Urdu it is with Panjabi in West Punjab. What I mean to suggest hereby is that it is wrong to think that Urdu is a foreign language. We must honour it as one of our regional languages as described by the Constitution and make the best of it in developing the all-India medium. That behoves us and the world-known catholicity of our culture. The Hindi Sahitya Sammelan should adopt this attitude and work for the development of Hindi accordingly, and better propagate such a language in its own Hindi-speaking region, rather than go out to do it in non-Hindi areas. Such a thing on its part would be a distinct service to the country.

The discussion in Parliament on the education demand brought to life the old controversy about Hindi, Hindustani and Urdu. It is as it would be, because the question is fundamental to the idea of the national language. Therefore only does it exist even now, though in a different form. The problem as it takes shape in the present times has been formally dealt with by the Hindi Teaching Committee (1951) of the Bombay State in its report. This is spotlighted by the Parliament's above debate. Relevant portions of that Report are reproduced in this issue, to which I draw the attention of the reader.

8-4-'54

(From the original in Gujarati)

HINDI ACCORDING TO THE CONSTITUTION

The following is reproduced, in an abridged form, from the report of the Hindi Teaching Committee, Bombay State, (1951). The Committee was asked by Government to do its work "having regard to Art. 343-351 of the Constitution of India." Hence the Committee studied these articles of the Constitution contained in Part XVII, entitled "Official Language". The results of this study were embodied in the form of two notes appended to Chapter 2 of the Committee's Report. One, a long and exhaustive study, was drafted by its chairman, Shri D. V. Potdar, well-known historian of Poona; the other, a short statement on the question, was by me. The gist of the latter was given by me in the *Harijan* (23-6-'51) under the heading 'The Hindi of the Constitution'. The former one is being now given in a summarized form.

"The salient points made out in these Notes are noted below:

(i) That since Article 351 of the Constitution seeks the enrichment of *Hindi* 'by assimilating' 'the forms, style and expressions' used in *Hindi* mentioned as one of the languages in the Eighth Schedule — the former *Hindi* could not be the same as the latter Hindi. Whereas the former Hindi has *to receive* from the latter, the latter has *to give* to the former, important elements.

(ii) That since, out of the Fourteen Languages enumerated in the Eighth Schedule, excepting Sanskrit, all the remaining thirteen languages are Modern Indian Languages and except perhaps Urdu, all these Modern Indian Languages could be assigned to distinct linguistic regions and thus fitly considered and called Regional, Hindi mentioned in this Schedule must be logically understood to be a Regional Language.

(iii) That experts like Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji have clearly brought out this distinction between the former Hindi and the latter Hindi, or in other words between "Laghu Hindi" and "Nagari Hindi". The Eighth Schedule Hindi is this Nagari Hindi, whereas it is the former Hindi, to promote the spread of which is the duty of the Union under Article 351.

(iv) That when speaking of this Common Hindi, now sought to be promoted in Article 351, the same Hindi was, more often than not, coupled with Hindustani. In fact, both the words Hindi and Hindustani were used as having identical meaning in this context."

The two notes are a long statement of what according to the Constitution is Hindi and what relationships it bears with the Indian languages. In doing it, the Committee went to examine what linguists or experts on the question had to say, chiefly the eminent linguist, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, in his book, "Indo-Aryan and Hindi", consisting of eight lectures delivered at Ahmedabad in 1940. Readers particularly interested in this question are advised to see that book as well as the Bombay Hindi Committee Report. Here a short summary from the Report is given below, keeping in view the general reader who will like to know what the question is, specially because it has been raised by U. P. Hindi protagonists in Parliament, in a very misguiding — 'purfareb' manner.

7-4-'54 M. P.

I

Relevant Articles of the Constitution

1. From Part XVII the Committee found that it was mainly, if not wholly, concerned with Article 343(1) in Chapter I "Language of the Union", and 351 in Chapter IV — 'Special Directives'.

2. These relevant articles are reproduced below:

(A) Part XVIII, Chapter I, Article 343 (1)

"The Official Language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devnagari Script.

The form of numerals to be used for the official purposes of the Union shall be the International form of the Indian numerals."

And

(B) Part XVII, Chapter IV, Article 351.

"It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi Language, to develop it so that it may serve as a Medium of Expression for all the elements of

the Composite Culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages."

3. We reproduce here the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India for easy reference:—

(C) *Eighth Schedule (Articles 344(1), and 351)*

Languages

1.	Assamese	8.	Marathi
2.	Bengali	9.	Oriya
3.	Gujarati	10.	Punjabi
4.	Hindi	11.	Sanskrit
5.	Kannada	12.	Tamil
6.	Kashmiri	13.	Telugu
7.	Malayalam	14.	Urdu.

II

Hindi, Urdu, and Hindustani

4. Let us first turn to Article 351 and the Eighth Schedule. That Article makes it the duty of the Union, among other things, "to secure the enrichment of Hindi by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule". The Eighth Schedule enumerates 14 languages as noted above. Excepting Sanskrit and Urdu all the remaining 12 languages are what are generally called Regional Languages. In this group of 12 languages we find Hindi mentioned along with Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi and Kannada, etc. Obviously the conclusion is undeniable that the Hindi mentioned in the Schedule must be of the same class and status as the other 11 languages popularly known as Regional. Article 351 asks us to secure the enrichment of Hindi by assimilating the important elements of the languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule, which includes Hindi and which, as pointed out above, means Regional Hindi.

5. Thus the Constitution directs the Union to secure the enrichment of Hindi mentioned in Article 351 by assimilating the forms, style and expressions of Hindi mentioned in the Eighth Schedule. In other words, this amounts to the enrichment of Hindi by Hindi. Unless the word Hindi in this context means two different things, the Directive in Article 351 becomes totally meaningless. This obviously it neither is nor could be. If, however, we understand the Hindi mentioned in the Eighth Schedule as Regional Hindi and the Hindi mentioned in Article 351 as something different from it, the Directive at once becomes meaningful.

6. Further, Article 351 also speaks of Hindustani which, if added to the fourteen languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule, would make a total of fifteen languages and of these fifteen languages Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani will be three. They cannot be synonymous and must be considered as different entities. The Hindi in Article 351 is to be enriched with the help of these three among other languages.

7. To determine the functions of these three different languages mentioned above, let us probe the matter a little further. The Constitution clearly mentions the following five things:

1. Hindi as Official Language in Article 343;
2. Hindi as envisaged in Article 351;
3. Hindi as mentioned in the Eighth Schedule;
4. Hindustani as referred to in Article 351; and
5. Urdu as mentioned in the Eighth Schedule.

That all these five languages are allied needs no comment. We have to now determine the exact meaning and scope of each one of them.

III

High Hindi

8. What Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji speaks of the Home Districts of Hindi (Western United Provinces and Eastern Punjab) is the region where Hindi was born and bred. This tract is what may be called the Midland of India. This mid-land, points out Dr. Chatterji (p. 163), "formed the heart and hub of India". Even Sanskrit Authorities refer to the tract between the Vindhya and Himalayas as Aryavarta. This mid-land or Home-land is, therefore, the Region par excellence of Hindi, though recently we have found its strong advocates in Eastern U.P. Thus both the Pachhanhas (Pachhahas) and the Purbiyas have combined in a great effort for its spread. Any way this is the Home Region of Hindi and hence if in any place Hindi can be considered as a Regional language it is here. This is thus the Home-land of Hindi or Regional Hindi* and the latter here deserves more appropriately the appellation of 'Hindi' as a language.

9. There can, therefore, be no doubt in safely coming to the conclusion that when Hindi is classed along with such other sister Languages as Marathi and Gujarati it is Hindi Regional and none else, like Marathi Regional and Gujarati Regional. Hence we conclude that 'Hindi' mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India is Regional Hindi. It is in the Home Region itself that a language naturally reaches its highest development. Therefore, what Dr. Chatterji calls High Hindi is nothing different from the most developed form of Regional Hindi. To repeat, Hindi in the Eighth Schedule is conclusively Regional Hindi or High Hindi. This disposes of No. 3 in paragraph 7 above.

IV

High Urdu

10. Similar considerations apply to Urdu which is No. 14 in the Eighth Schedule. In its earliest form as Hindustani or Hindi, as also it was promiscuously spoken of, it was not much different from the other form of Hindi. Known as Khari Boli both the forms of the same language coming from the same source were so close together as to be almost identical. The appellation Urdu was acquired later by one of these two forms which became more and more impregnated with Perso-Arabic elements. This development culminated in the form known as Zaban-E-Urdu-e-Mu'alla, in other words, High Urdu. For purposes of enrichment as contemplated in Article 351, this High Urdu is also expected to make some contribution. Thus we may have, for our enriched Hindi of Free India, what Dr. Chatterji calls 'some of the Protean character of English.' To quote him again: 'a language true to its genius as a language of India and true to its great and unapproachable Sanskrit heritage, will be all the more expressive if it had, not for everyday use among all and sundry, but for stylistic embellishment when occasion demanded it, a repository of Arabic and Persian' (p. 229). For these Perso-Arabic elements High Urdu would be of much service and hence its inclusion in the Schedule. This disposes of No. 5 in paragraph 7 above.

V

Hindustani

11. Article 351 does not specify any particular form of Hindustani. It merely speaks of Hindustani just as it merely speaks of Hindi or Urdu in the Schedule. It must be emphasized again that Hindi, Hindustani and Urdu all come from the same source and all have got many common features. Very often any one of these names is broadly used for any of the three. Much of the basical grammar for all these three varieties is the same. When two literary forms like High Hindi and High Urdu gradually grew and took shape they seem to have developed into distinct entities, showing a great variety in the fruit and foliage, the common stem being sometimes thickly covered with this overgrowth. Under this overgrowth, it is mostly the elite that rested and enjoyed, but the large

* Is it not more or less the home region of Urdu also?
M. P.

masses, dumb for centuries, were still hovering round the stem and clinged to Hindustani shown by Dr. Chatterji.* Since in Free India, the dumb masses are slowly coming into their own and are being called upon, and will do so soon, to play the role of the masters of Free India, their Hindustani will come necessarily to occupy its rightful place. Much material enrichment to the Hindi of Article 351 is expected from them and their Hindustani. This disposes of No. 4 in paragraph 7.

VI

Official Language of the Union

12. Now we have to consider No. 1 and 2 above. Out of these No. 1 is the Official Language. Since Government which has so far carried on in English will have soon to be conducted in Hindi as the official language, a fresh field has been opened to us. Had the old order of things continued, without the intervention of the British as a Suzerain Power in India, our country would have struck out a path of its own. But the British Government held India fast in its grasp and showed a remarkable talent for administration and organization, both in form and content, in many ways novel. The native talent remained completely submerged. The soul of India, however, was not dead. It was reborn and a Free India arose, out of the ashes — a Free India that faces a new world and aspires to make its own contribution to the common march of humanity.

13. To fulfil its destiny the Indian Government in keeping with its dignity must have linguistic equipment of requisite strength and variety. Indeed, India is not poor in this respect. The languages in the Eighth Schedule point to the fourteen big treasure-houses, full of rich wealth. For the purposes of Government it must have a linguistic coinage of its own. This restricted and special coinage in Hindi will make up the Official Language of India. Its various departments to avoid confusion must have one fixed and definite terminology of their own. Education must be education and instruction must be instruction. Precise terms must be used everywhere to secure exactitude. This precise and selected Hindi, as determined and definitely ordered from time to time, will make up the official Language. Departments will bear definite names, Forms, Procedures, Laws, Acts, Bills, Resolutions, Notifications, Treaties, Declarations and the like will all have to be couched in precise language leaving no room for ambiguity and confusion. This is the Official Language and this is Official Hindi as stated in paragraph 7 above i.e. Hindi as Official Language of Article 343. This disposes of No. 1 in paragraph 7 above.

VII

Hindi — The Common Language of India

14. Now it is easy to determine the real scope of Hindi, as envisaged in Article 351 which is No. 2, the last remaining factor out of the five allied varieties referred to in para 7 above. Obviously its scope and purpose is very wide and much more extensive than the scope and purpose of any of the other four.

(a) High Hindi (or No. 3 above and mentioned as Hindi in Eighth Schedule) would be serving the needs of a Region and it would continue to be "the Home Language" of 30 or perhaps not more than 50 millions of souls, and for that purpose its scope would have no artificial limitations. It may soar as high as it can.

(b) High Urdu (No. 5 above and mentioned as Urdu in the Eighth Schedule), though not regional, is serving some sections of the population of the Union and so long as the need remains, would continue to serve those sections. In certain regions now outside India it seems to have acquired special recognition. For keeping up and developing relations, commercial, cultural and political, the need for the cultivation of High Urdu would therefore still be felt in India, though from a new angle of vision and in specified directions. It would besides have a religious significance also. Its cultivation in India would necessarily be determined thus by its utility.

(c) Hindustani which served, in its simplified form, 200 millions of souls or perhaps more 'is the great Verkehrssprache and Umgangssprache of India'. It was on its way to develop itself into a sort of a Kultursspache, a little before India was about to be free. It supplies a varied and many sided source of linguistic nourishment and enrichment to millions. But now when the freedom sought for has been achieved and we have to march forward as a Free People our needs and responsibilities have increased a hundred times. We must also look far ahead into the future and march as one great people with a hoary past and a glorious future before the world.

(d) The scope and purpose of Hindi as Official language has already been defined above.

15. Leaving the specialized fields as assigned to the four languages dealt with so far, all that remains to determine is the domain of Hindi as envisaged in Article 351. It will serve as a common medium for all the peoples of India for their common objectives. It will have to serve our public men, leaders, ministers, plenipotentiaries, ambassadors, scholars, teachers, editors, newspapermen, radio-men, kisans and labourers, and all others, whenever they will have to meet or work together in conferences and associations or otherwise for the expression, discussion and promotion of common all-India objectives and for all purposes of securing such contacts. This Hindi will, therefore, have to be inclusive and extensive and not exclusive and intensive. It will have to be as simple as possible and as easy and pliant too. From whatever source it gets its required nourishment it should do so without fear or hesitation. Its one aim should be to be understood and understood easily and quickly. It will recognize no barriers of caste, creed or region, country or origin, so long as it is expressive, vigorous, pliant and easily understood.

VIII

Composite Culture

16. (a) Besides enrichment Article 351 enjoins upon the Union "to develop it (Hindi) so that it may serve as a Medium of Expression for all the elements of the Composite Culture of India". If it is to serve as such a medium in a befitting manner then it becomes all the more necessary to secure its enrichment as laid down later.

(b) That the Culture of India is composite is a very clear and correct proposition. Since it is composite it consists of more than one element. This is the reason why Article 351 provides for the development of Hindi so as to serve as a Medium of Expression for all the elements of the Composite Culture of India.

(c) In the first place this Culture of India is a growth of centuries. It has been affected by Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the Deshi languages, besides Persian, Arabic and English. It has assumed a variety of forms according as it developed through these various languages and in different linguistic areas. Local traditions and history have made their own contribution to this common stream. Religious Teachers, Poets, Law-givers, and Philosophers have laboured throughout for its nourishment and enrichment. From the dawn of history, Indian teachers have developed a universal attitude and so influenced and moulded the life of the peoples of India as to make them thoroughly human, peace-loving, just and law-abiding. They

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* On pages 146-154 of his lectures Dr. Chatterji refers to the following forms of Hindustani :

1. The Urdu Language;
2. High Hindi or Nagari Hindi;
3. Hindustani (Hindustani proper which may be said to be the Khari Boli maintaining in its vocabulary a balance between (1) Urdu and (2) High Hindi).
4. "Vernacular Hindustani" — These are Regional dialects.
5. "Bazar Hindi or Bazar Hindustani" or Hindustani of the masses — This is just a simplified form of (1) and (2).

have received all good people in a brotherly spirit and have welcomed them and given them shelter. A wonderful Cosmopolitan Culture thus was fostered into this Ancient Land and cherished and nourished with great zeal and love. Live and let live has been their declared motto, in word and deed.

(d) The key to this successful maintenance and development of this Composite Culture of India is to be found in its recognition of and mild insistence on the great fact of unity being different from uniformity. They have favoured the former against the latter throughout.

(e) The Hindi to be developed by the Union must, therefore, serve as a Medium of Expression for all the elements of the Composite Culture of India. This part of our duty has to be always very clearly borne in mind and translated correctly into action in all our undertakings for the teaching and promotion of Hindi in framing Syllabii for Schools, in Selection of Books and such other relevant matters.

IX

Development of Hindi

17. In the Free India of the present and future it shall have to keep pace with its growing demands and achievements as the common speech of India. It should show enough capacity and efficiency to be loved and learnt by one and all, young and old, man or woman, rich or poor.

18. It has no reason to feel any weakness and suffer from any enfeeblement. For its enrichment the Constitution provides for 15 sources, 14 in the Eighth Schedule and Hindustani in the Article itself. Not only this, but the Constitution provides for something more vital. As provided in the last part of Article 351 its enrichment is to be further secured "by drawing wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages."

19. Sanskrit is our proud heritage, wonderfully rich, and has sustained us throughout centuries. With Sanskrit to rest upon, we have no grounds whatsoever to suffer from poverty of expression and hence no grounds whatsoever for any hesitation or doubt. Modern times are marching ahead with great rapidity and in fields and directions ever new. If, further, all these vast linguistic sources and resources per chance fail us, the Constitution liberally provides to draw for our nourishment "on other languages". Mark here these other languages are not hemmed in by any expression or a limitation of a Schedule. These other languages thus mean any of the languages of the World. We are left free to draw from them if it suits our purpose. That is why our Wise Expert also allows us to borrow failing other specified sources "from Persian or Arabic or English". That does not mean that we are prohibited from borrowing from Chinese or Russian, for the matter of that so broad and wide are our sources of nourishment. So broad and wide will, therefore, be the scope of Hindi as mentioned in Article 351.

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APPLIED SCIENCE AND WARS

(*By Aldous Huxley*)

[Shri V. Bodani sends the following few lines of Shri Aldous Huxley, quoted from his book *Science, Liberty and Peace* (pp. 35, 36, 37: 1947 Edition), to share them with the readers of *Harijan* papers.]

Recent progress in the applied science of armament-making has been progress in the development of weapons that will destroy more indiscriminately at greater distances. High explosives and incendiaries, the heavy bomber and the jet-propelled robot plane, the rocket and finally * the atomic missile — taken together these constitute a powerful temptation to ignore the traditional rules of war and to obliterate wholesale entire civilian populations and their dwellings. To this temptation all the belligerents in the Second World War succumbed. And so long as governments and manufacturers continue to subsidize research into the science and technology of armaments, these temptations will remain, irresistibly beckoning to nationalistic power lovers, just as drink and sex and money beckon to their respective addicts.

In recent months many persons have optimistically argued that the harnessing of atomic energy must (because that energy is so destructive) put an end to men's inveterate habit of making war. Similar arguments have been set forth in the past. Whenever progressive applied science has produced some strikingly more efficient instrument of slaughter, hopes have been voiced, and facts and figures marshalled to prove, that henceforward war would be too expensive in life, suffering and money to be worth waging. Nevertheless wars have still been fought. Methods of defence against the new destructive weapon are devised and yet more efficient instruments of counter-attack are invented. *Advances in technology do not abolish the institution of war; they merely modify its manifestations.* (Italics mine — V.). In the present instance it seems quite possible that there may be no defence against atomic missiles (or the Hydrogen Bomb). But this does not necessarily presage the end of warfare.... It is a highly significant fact that people love to talk about a war to end war, or a war to preserve democracy; they do not love to talk about peace to end war, or self-governing democracy (which is the polar antithesis of militarism) to preserve democracy.

* Finally the Hydrogen Bomb.

By K. G. Mashruwala
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HARIJAN

April 17 1954

THREE EPOCH-MAKING RESOLUTIONS

(*By Maganbhai P. Desai*)

After the advent of Swaraj, there was found to be a sort of increasing lull in the enthusiasm to celebrate the great National Week from April 6 to 13. On the other hand, it was also observed that the Congress organization was as if being overshadowed by the programmes and policies of its Central and State Governments. The Presidentship of the Congress and the Prime Ministership of the country being required to be vested in one person and the questions of relationships between the Congress Committees and their Governments that often crop up in recent times are indications of the above situation. This observation is made not in any manner of criticism or fault-finding, but to note where really we are.

The Congress Working Committee that met on April 4, 5 at Delhi has acted in refreshing contrast to the above situation and made a new departure, comparatively to its working during the last few years, for which it deserves our sincerest congratulations. The three resolutions among others that it passed in its session remind us of its past great history. They are reproduced elsewhere in this issue. The Congress has stemmed the apparent ebb of its diminishing prestige by these epoch-making resolutions, which give very timely lead both to the people and the Governments that it has the responsibility to guide and direct.

We all know how Gandhiji felt about Prohibition and the question of the medium of instruction. These he held to be of fundamental importance in his idea of rebuilding India of his conception. Though all the items of the whole constructive programme like Khadi, removal of untouchability, village industries etc. were equally important, he said the above-mentioned two items were worthy of immediate and urgent achievement. As he said, if he was given dictatorial powers even for a while, the first thing he would do would be to order these two of our national objectives. Because these two items of our constructive programme differ in a way from others, inasmuch as they specially require the help of Government power to achieve them with fair success, though such help is always necessary in a general way for the whole programme. It is, as we know, mostly the Government that organizes and controls public instruction and plies liquor shops.

These two items find place of honour in our Constitution also. But we know that much remains to be desired in their implementation. It was indeed very fortunate that a compelling situation arose requiring immediate attention from the Congress. The Congress took it up with promptness and the decisions it made will be considered as its greatest acts during the years after Swaraj.

Prohibition now becomes our immediate national programme. The Planning Commission has been requested to set up a special Committee for the job. It must be seen that the members of this Committee are persons who have living faith in that programme. It should place before us a three year programme for fulfilling this objective. No financial consideration from various finance ministries of the land should have any relevancy now. The Committee must also draw up a code of conduct and discipline for the Government services in this regard.

Similarly, regarding the change-over in the medium of instruction. Primary and Secondary Education is under direct Government control; Higher Education is with the Universities. The Working Committee has given a directive to the country in broad outlines, as it obviously could do. It lays down that the language of the child or its regional language shall be the medium for its entire education. Governments and Universities should now evolve their respective programmes of work according to this broad directive.

The Congress also has a great responsibility in this connection. If it does not wish to reduce itself to a mere power-catering parliamentary or electional organization, it should mind such important constructive activities also by creating its central and State committees to look after, foster, and vigilently promote them both among the people and through the Government.

There is another similar activity worthy of attention from the Congress, viz. Basic Education. I may not go into that here.

There are two things allied to the question of the medium of instruction, viz. the medium of administration and the public services examinations. The Working Committee has shown commendable foresight in taking them up also. The Committee has done very well in giving the regional languages a place of honour with English and Hindi in these two counts. This will facilitate the Universities to adopt the regional languages as their medium.

There is a reference in the Working Committee resolution on the medium that Hindi may be used also. This should not be misconstrued to mean that Hindi is to be on a par with the regional languages which, in terms of the resolution, shall be the medium. Hindi is there for inter-State purposes, i.e. non-regional students and teachers can use Hindi. The resolution further suggests that during the transition English may also be permitted for a reasonable time.

As all regional languages including Hindi will have their place along with the all-India common language in respect of the services, it will

clear the way for the promotion of Hindi in non-Hindi areas. Well may the South now take to Hindi without the fears of what is called 'Hindi imperialism'. The Congress resolution clarifies Hindi as of two sorts, one as the regional language and the other as "the all-India national language for official and other purposes." As this aspect of the question is dealt with in this issue at some length, I leave it here.

Looking from the point of view of nation-building, the Congress has, by these its epoch-making resolutions, given us a very timely lead in a sphere of our national life, which, I think, is far more important and serious in its effect than the Five Year Plan even. Is it now upto the Congress, the people, and the Government to combine and co-ordinate their efforts in achieving the great objective which radically affects the reconstruction of our educational system.

9-4-'54

(From the original in Gujarati)

DIRECTIVE PRINCIPLES AND STATE BUDGET

[In the Bombay Legislative Council a member had criticized the Finance Minister's Budget Speech by saying that he adopted a defensive attitude by taking shelter for his presentation of the Budget under the Directive Principles of the Constitution. I rather think that such a plan of presenting the Budget is appropriate and necessary. Not only the Budget, I hold that our new Five Year Plan also must be made under the major heads of requirements under these Principles. As we know, they are "fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the State to apply these Principles in making laws." They are to be "fundamental axioms of State policy." The following observations are reproduced from my speech in the Council on 9 and 10-3-1954.

6-4-'54 —M. P.]

I very much appreciate the action of the Hon. Finance Minister in having given us a clear picture as to what Constitutional requirements a State should fulfil and how this State is trying to fulfil them. I would go further and say that Government should inform the public and the legislature how the various Directive Principles are being implemented by the State. For example, in paras 2 to 4, the speech of the Finance Minister touches a very important Directive Principle, namely, regarding the standard of living. Paragraph 4 refers to the existence of unemployment in certain sections of the population. There is a Directive Principle pertaining to the right to work, provision of employment to people, and improvement in the standard of living of the people. If we have a picture of the progress made in the implementation of such Directive Principles, it would be a good thing. That is why I very much appreciate the line of approach by the Finance Minister.

The State is also implementing the Five Year Plan. We welcome the Five Year Plan because it seeks to implement the Directive Principles under the Constitution.

Gram-Panchayat

The Directive Principle regarding the Gram-Panchayats has been referred to. I would like to know what is the local autonomy and the devolution of power that actually goes to these Gram Panchayats. Development of these village republics depends ultimately upon such progressive State policy. Therefore, if such a picture would be given to us, it would be welcome.

Weaker Sections of the People

Then, Sir, I have to draw the attention of the Hon. Minister to the provisions of Article 46 of the Constitution, regarding the weaker sections of our people. Which are these weaker sections? As we all know certain Hindu widows do not re-marry. The only way of maintenance for them is to find out some employment. Posts of teachers in primary schools are a fruitful source. But under the present rules and under the priorities that have been fixed by Government, they do not get any priority. In my opinion they should be taken to falling under the expression "weaker sections" appearing in Article 46 of the Constitution and priority should be given to them.

Backward Classes

Then the Hon. Finance Minister has stated in paragraph 22 that to prevent exploitation of Backward Classes in forest areas, Government allocates a substantial number of forest coupes to the Forest Labourer's Co-operative Societies. I have come to know that buses are plying there for removing timber, displacing the bullock carts; and I apprehend that consequently unemployment amongst these labourers would be increased. For instance, the Dangs people are wholly dependent upon the forest labour and the bullock cart is the only vehicle which they were plying. Now if buses begin to ply in these areas then they would not get any work for their carts. I would, therefore, suggest that Government should find out some ways for relieving competition between the buses and the bullock carts. It is a question of giving employment to these people, of rehabilitating them and also of helping them.

Prohibition

Then, Sir, I am sorry to find that Prohibition always comes in for criticism either in this House or in the other House. I personally feel that it is very unfortunate that at every Budget Session, a reference should be made to Prohibition by repeating the same objections. These very Honourable Members say that they desire Prohibition. If that be a fact, then I would request them to come out with constructive suggestions for implementing Prohibition. But when the principle is accepted their crying for the loss of income is something queer. The Honourable Finance Minister has stated that though Government had to forgo a possible revenue of about Rs 10.77 crores, the benefit to the consumers has been of the order of Rs 35 crores.

A question has been raised as to whether they are utilizing all this benefit for drinking illicit liquor or not. Sir, illicit distillation had been there even during the excise law Rule. And if we see the Madhya Pradesh Prohibition Inquiry Committee rpeort, it will be found that in the half area which is wet, illicit distillation is greater than in the other half area which is dry. Therefore to connect illicit distillation and questions of this sort with Prohibition is quite irrelevant. In America, for example, which is so often being quoted against us, there is no Prohibition. However, there illicit distillation and bootlegging is enormous, and that way, America is not only wet but it is almost drenched. America is now thinking of finding out ways and means as to how to stop illicit distillation and bootlegging. Not only that, but figures are given out by social workers there showing how millions of dollars have to be spent for medical treatment, on jails, for insanity, etc. and how drink is costing the American exchequer more than it gives. With these things before us, let us now be sure that Prohibition is not to be linked up with the idea of income to the State. Prohibition is a sure welfare activity. It helps nutrition; it helps the standard of living, it improves the health of the masses. When once Prohibition is there it helps such things as nutrition and health and standard of living etc. Besides family happiness and social happiness of the people is also ensured.

Right to Work and Unemployment

Articles 39, 41 and 43 of the Constitution deal with the subject of unemployment, or, as the Constitution puts

it, the right to work and the right to gainful employment. Article 39 refers to one thing, Article 40 refers to another; and Article 43 specifically refers to village industries and other things for providing employment. In a way, the speech of the Finance Minister makes some mention of these things. For example, reference has been made to the unemployment amongst the educated section, and reference has also been made to what is proposed to be done, with the help given by the Government of India, to relieve that unemployment. I think there is a large amount of rural under-employment also and a reference to that should also have been made. It is not that our people in rural areas are totally unemployed in the sense in which we people in cities are. Economists and statisticians say that more than 40 per cent of them are under-employed, because they have no gainful occupation during a part of the year. This is a huge drain on our resources, on our strength and capacity for development. This is an item which should be taken into consideration at the time of framing the Budget and something done to relieve the under-employment. I know that this right of gainful employment and to work has been abridged by the Constitution to the capacity of the States for development etc. However, it is an important obligation on the State which must be carefully fulfilled. I do not mean to suggest thereby that this question has not been attended to. In a paragraph reference has been made to industries, co-operative societies etc. and what is being done with regard to them. Mention has also been made as to what is being done with regard to small scale industries. My only point in referring to this is that it would have been a better thing if we had got a larger and a wider picture of the whole thing and what the specific remedies have been thought of to meet the situation in our villages.

Under-employment and Adivasis

In this matter of under-employment, I have to refer to one thing and that is to the unfair competition between the bullock cart and the bus with a specific reference to our Adivasis either in the grass areas of Pardi and Thana or in the jungle areas of Panch Mahals or Dangs etc. In this area they have not much to occupy themselves with by way of agriculure. The whole of their life and work centres round either the forest areas or the grass land. They cut grass and wood and take them over to various stations in their bullock carts which give them some employment during a part of the year. If in this area either State Transport or other private vehicles are allowed to ply instead, they would take away the work from these people.

Small-scale *vs.* Large-scale Industries

In this connection, I would remind the House of the direction by the Planning Commission. They have specifically said that small-scale industries must not be allowed to suffer under an unfair competition from large-scale industries, and a long paragraph has been devoted to saying how this can be done. I am quoting from page 81 the Summary of the First Five Year Plan issued by the Planning Commission. It says:

> "The primary directive policy should be to provide a field within which each cottage industry can organize itself. Wherever a large-scale industry competes with a cottage industry, the appropriate course would be to try and formulate a common production programme which could take account of such factors as efficiency, scope for development and employment potential. One or more of the following element might form part of a common production programme:
>
> (1) reservation of spheres of production;
>
> (2) non-expansion of the capacity of a large-scale industry;
>
> (3) imposition of a cess on a large-scale industry;
>
> (4) arrangements for the supply of raw materials; and
>
> (5) co-ordination for research, training etc."

I would suggest that this particular aspect of the work, which touches our scheduled tribes in the forest and grass growing areas, must be looked into, as otherwise these people will be without employment during two or three months of the year.

Primary Education

I now come to the question of primary education. It has been specifically mentioned in Article 45 of the Constitution, to which attention has been drawn by our Finance Minister. There is no mention of Basic Education there. The provision follows the way of thinking of politicians like the late Shri Gokhale that there must be free and compulsory education. But experience in India since then has shown that there should be not merely expansion of education, but also the content of education has to be looked into, and it is because of this that we have slowly switched on to Basic Education as a national policy of primary education. Although the Hon. Finance Minister has not made specific reference to it, we know that our State is committed to it.

NOTES

French India on the Move

Our people in French India are on the move to assert their freedom and the right of self-determination. That they do this in a peaceful manner deserves congratulations of all peace-lovers. However, it is a cruel irony of fate that this move had to be taken against the very Republic which in the last century in Europe played the historical role of raising the banner of freedom. The people of French India decided in their communes and corporations to merge with India. If at all democratic verdict of the population interested in the demand is necessary, it is there. The Government of India suggested a way and procedure to achieve the object. To meet all this with repression etc. could have been safely avoided. However the French Government seems to think in a manner other than the obvious or the proper. It should understand that the age of mercantile colonialism that it could establish in the 18th century is now over. We wish all success to the peaceful assertion of self-determination and freedom of the French Indian people.

11-4-'54 M. P.

The Spiral of Prices

A report says that 35,000 acres produced 2.5 lakh maunds more rice in U. P. on account of Japanese method of cultivation. The value of the increased yield is estimated at about Rs 32 lakhs. The average increase is 7.4 maunds of paddy per acre.

The news looks as if for jubilation and glee. But the sinister meaning of the news is that the cultivators can now exact Rs 32 lakhs from buyers (i.e. from sales). Thus the increased yield *will not cheapen* rice.

The increased yield is due to nature and skill employed which should lighten the burden of consumers, if the production *was* for social purposes.

But nature and skill are used for getting more money out of consumers, thanks to individuals and States trying to make profits and more profits out of consumers. The increased production, thanks to skill or machines, cannot benefit the consumers at all under the present set-up, whether produced by investment by the individuals or States.

The theory that increased production reduces prices either due to competition in the market (thanks to supply and demand !) or owing to rapid methods of production (thanks to labour and time-saving devices !) does not apply at all to the present set-up. During the last hundred years the prices have gone steadily up reducing the purchasing power of money and of *men*. U. S. dollar is worth only about 50 per cent of its purchasing power of what it was about 150 years ago. No increased earnings have compensated for the reduced purchasing power of money. In spite of increased earnings more and more people live under subsistence level in even U. S. and in other countries they go out of employment altogether. Want of sales alone keeps the prices at the present level ; otherwise they would shoot up.

M. P. T. ACHARYA

BHOODAN FIGURES

(Upto 25-3-'54)

S. N.	State	Total Land Collection (Acres)	Total Land Distributed (Acres)
1.	Assam	1,349	
2.	Andhra	11,049	
3.	Orissa	67,165	
4.	Uttar Pradesh	5,01,268	41,918
5.	Karnatak	1,669	
6.	Kerala	17,000	
7.	Gujarat	26,277	
8.	Tamilnad	21,015	256
9.	Delhi	9,245	4
10.	Panjab	4,205	
11.	Bengal	1,525	
12.	Bihar	15,30,000	
13.	Madhya Pradesh	65,684	1,006
14.	Madhya Bharat	60,757	
15.	Maharashtra	11,963	
16.	Mysore	3,269	
17.	Rajasthan	3,12,720	2,070
18.	Vindhya Pradesh	4,963	126
19.	Saurashtra	26,500	
20.	Himachal Pradesh	1,377	
21.	Hyderabad (Dn.)	83,035	10,505
	Total	27,62,035	55,885

Gaya

KRISHNARAJ MEHTA,
Office Secretary,
A. I. Sarva Seva Sangh.

WE DEMAND OUR RIGHT *

(*By Vinoba*)

I am very happy to see you all here. It shows your love and sympathy for me and for the work I greatly value. A few zamindars and other land-holders of your village had come to see me at noon. We had a very friendly talk for about one and a half hours. It pleased me very much. It is believed generally that the villagers in India are an illiterate lot and that they have no intelligence. My experience, however, has always been that they are endowed with almost an intuitive understanding of what is good and what is bad. They are quick in grasping things and are very thoughtful. They do not accept anything hastily without mature consideration. That is why they have been able to hold out all these ages. When I see them discussing and arguing things I am delighted. I try to look in their heart. I find that they think seriously, turning the thing over in their minds and examining it in all its aspects. That is how India has endured through all the numerous vicissitudes of her history. Our villagers have a rich store of experience and they carry the essence of our old culture. They have the intelligence and intuition to judge things. And this is exactly what I want. I want them to think and come to a decision only after full consideration. I do not want them to donate lands without being convinced of its utility.

So we had a very interesting talk about this subject. They asked me to show them a model Bhoodan village — a village where people have donated and distributed lands. If it impressed them favourably then, they said, they too would be ready to share their lands with others. This was a good suggestion. But how are we to fulfil it unless people came forward to donate lands and afford us an opportunity to reorganize the life of the village concerned on the Bhoodan lines ? If everyone were to ask that he be first shown a model Bhoodan village and then only would he consider the question of his co-operation in this venture, then there could be no progress at all. It is then for you and everyone else to come forward and work for setting up such models. Indeed it is of the essence of our conception of the *gram-rajya* that local people themselves should build it and control it. That is the way to strengthen the villages. The uplift and enrichment of villages lies in your own hands. The Gita says : "Raise yourself by your own efforts."

'Raise yourself' means raise your family and your village. All those with whom it is your lot to live together must be thought of as constituting a single family. It is not right to say, as people generally do, that everyone has his own fate and that it is none of his responsibility to

* From a speech at Chaubar (Gaya) on 26-3-'54.

help others beyond his immediate family. If that were to be accepted as a right principle for the guidance of one's conduct, one might as well leave the members of one's family also to their fate.

The age in which we are living demands that people should live and work together. In the old days in the wars that took place there were no more than ten to twenty thousand soldiers on each side. In the third battle of Panipat which was a huge affair judged by the standards prevailing at that time each side had about two lakh soldiers. In modern wars they number not lakhs but crores. This is the age of science. In this age only those will survive who will agree to work and live together. This age does not permit isolation, whatever its kind and form. The land of the village will not belong to individuals but to the village community. The individual ownership will have to go. This is the demand of the age. The change is inevitable, but we want to bring it about in such a way that no undue hardship is caused to anybody. That is why we want from each of you a due share for the *bhoodan*. We want it not as charity but as a right.

A friend remarked today that he found it hard to accept the position that in donating his land he was not making a gift but merely restoring to the recipient what was his right. It may really be hard to accept it, but I would repeat and you must understand this that in asking for land we are not asking for mercy as beggars do, but for our right — the right of the Daridranarayan. If you are not yet convinced of the justice of this demand, do not give. I will continue to explain it to you again and again until you are converted. Man is, as the Sanskrit word for it connotes, a thinking being. If an effort is made to explain a thing to him in right manner, he is bound to understand it in the end. I will keep to this faith and persist in taking the message to every one as often as necessary.

One thing is certain: Poverty will end only when it is shared and levelled up amongst all. The land is fixed in quantity. It cannot increase. Obviously then we can put an end to poverty only by a just redistribution of it and by all working on it in co-operation with one another. Redistribution may involve fragmentation to some extent, but that need not worry us. We are out to unite the hearts. The union of hearts will lead also to union of hands, that is, people will then co-operate with one another. And so the production will increase.

The *Vedas* say, " Earn with a hundred hands and then distribute with a thousand." Let us then distribute all our riches with joyous abandon pulling down the barriers which divide man and man.

(Adapted from Hindi)

WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTIONS

[The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, that met at Delhi on April 4, 5, passed the following epoch-making resolutions.]

I

Medium of Instruction

" The Congress has repeatedly laid down the policy to be pursued in regard to the medium of instruction in schools and colleges. The Congress Working Committee passed resolutions on this subject on August 5, 1949 and again on May 17, 1953. The Constitution of India has recognized Hindi as the all-India national language, while it has also indicated other regional languages of national significance.

" It should be the objective of the Government, through the educational system and by other means, to encourage and develop Hindi, both as a regional language and as the all-India national language for official and other purposes. At the same time, the other regional languages, named in the Constitution, should also be given full encouragement. The object aimed at should be the development of an Indian literature through all these great languages of India, which should, therefore, have close contacts with each other.

" While Hindi, as the all-India national language, should be a compulsory subject at various stages in schools and colleges, it is necessary that people in the Hindi-speaking areas should learn at least one other Indian language.

" It should be remembered that, while English must give place to Hindi in India, a knowledge of foreign languages will continue to be necessary in order to keep in touch with foreign literature and currents of thought and developments in various fields of activity. This will also encourage the development of the literature and languages of India.

" While some study of all the important foreign languages of Europe and Asia is desirable, it will be necessary to encourage, specially the study of English, both because of its importance as one of the principal world languages and its past contacts.

" The medium of instruction at the primary stage must be the mother-tongue of the child in accordance with the wishes of the parent or the guardian of the child. Ordinarily, this will be the language of the area or the State. In tribal areas the medium during the early stages should be the mother tongue of the people of the area.

" In large cities and other areas, where there are many people speaking a language or languages other than the regional language, public primary schools should give instruction in the mother tongue, provided there are a reasonable number of persons demanding such instruction. In bilingual areas, more particularly the border areas between two States, special facilities

should be given for primary education in each of the languages of that area.

"Instruction at the secondary stage should ordinarily be given in the regional language, but other languages may also be used where there is a sufficiently large number of pupils. At the secondary stage, the all-India language, namely Hindi, should be a compulsory second language.

"At the university stage, the medium of instruction should be the regional language, though Hindi may also be used. In the universities, while normal teaching will be done in the regional language, it should be open to teachers to deliver lectures in Hindi and occasionally even in English. This will facilitate inter-provincial cultural intercourse.

"In the teaching of scientific and technical subjects the transition from English to Hindi or the regional language should be so arranged as to be gradual and not bring down standards. An intervening stage, in regard to some subjects where both Hindi or the regional language and English are used as media may be desirable.

"As it is desirable to have an adequate knowledge of a foreign language this should be taken at the high school stage and continued at the university stage.

"The Working Committee approves generally of the 15-year programme which the Education Ministry of the Central Government has drawn up in three stages of five years each, so as to complete the replacement of English by Hindi at the end of that period."

II

Medium of All-India Services Examinations

"In view of the fact that the Constitution of India has recognized Hindi as the all-India national language and has fixed a period of 15 years for the transition to Hindi for official all-India purposes, it is desirable that progressive steps should be taken to make Hindi the language of examinations for the all-India Services.

"These steps should be so phased as not to cause any undue burden on the candidates from any part of the country where the regional language is other than Hindi. While Hindi as well as the regional languages must be given every encouragement to develop, it must be remembered that a knowledge of foreign languages, and more especially English will continue to be essential for persons in the higher services.

"The Working Committee recommended that progressively examinations for the all-India Services should be held in Hindi, English, and the principal regional languages and candidates may be given the option to use any of these languages for the purpose of examinations. In the event of a candidate choosing Hindi or a regional language for the purpose of his examination, he should pass separately in English also.

"All candidates who have been successful in these all-India examinations will have to pass a test in Hindi at an early stage, unless they have already taken Hindi in the examinations previously.

"The next stage should be a continuation of option to use Hindi, English or the regional languages in these examinations in the manner stated above, but with the addition of a compulsory paper on Hindi for such candidates whose language is other than Hindi, and a compulsory paper in some other Indian language for candidates whose language is Hindi. In both cases, English will be a compulsory subject for those who appear in the examinations in Hindi or the other regional languages.

"In this way, Hindi should progressively replace English as the language of examinations for the all-India Services."

III

National Programme for Prohibition

"The Constitution has laid down the Directive Principle that the States shall endeavour to bring about Prohibition of the consumption, except for medicinal purposes, of intoxicating drinks and drugs, which are injurious to health.

"The Congress Working Committee having reviewed generally the progress of Prohibition in different States, considers that it is imperative in national interest to take steps for more effective implementation of the Directive.

"The Working Committee takes note of the fact that though certain States have taken substantial measures to carry out the policy of Prohibition, in several other States adequate progress has not been made and various difficulties have been encountered.

"In carrying out its scheme of social reform, which is of such far-reaching significance for the community as a whole, especially for the poorer section of the population both in urban and rural areas, financial aspect by themselves should not influence the course of policy and action.

"The Committee feels that the stage has been reached when the experience gained and difficulties met with in recent years should be studied carefully and objectively with a view to evolving a national programme for the fulfilment, with the widest possible public support and as speedily as may be feasible, of the Directive of the Constitution.

"To this end the Working Committee suggests that the Planning Commission may make recommendations to the State Governments for collecting data and arranging for a full study of the subject in all its aspects by a committee appointed for this purpose."

DEFENCE *vs.* DEVELOPMENT

(*By P. Kodanda Rao*)

Referring to possible American military aid to Pakistan, the Prime Minister of India said that India would not enter on an armaments race, but would rely on the development of the material and moral resources of her people, that her armed forces were needed only for defence but not for aggression, that, while she would accept foreign economic aid, she would not accept military aid from any quarter, and that she would gladly enter into no-war pacts with her neighbours.

In that case, does India need her present armed strength, which, in terms of expenditure for easy understanding, costs about Rs 200 crores per annum?

Defence expenditure must be related to the needs as well as the resources of a country. If, for instance, Ceylon fears Indian aggression, she has not the resources to out-distance Indian military strength; she must go under or seek external aid.

In the most unlikely contingency of UK, USA, USSR or China invading India, the present armed strength of India is inadequate for successful defence, beyond playing a vital delaying action.

Against a possible aggression of Pakistan which spent about Rs 70 crores on her military might, need India spend about Rs 200 crores?

It is possible that with adequate American military aid, the balance may be tilted in favour of Pakistan. But Mr Nehru declined to enter on an armament race with Pakistan.

If India must be prepared for Pakistan aggression in spite of assurances of Pakistan's innocent intentions, Pakistan also feels it necessary to be prepared for defence against possible Indian aggression, and supplement her military might with American aid. Perhaps the best solution seems to be that the military strength and expenditure of both India and Pakistan should be reduced approximately to the same level just enough for defence but not for offence by either, and divert the released personnel and finance for development purposes, which will incidentally minimize, if not obviate, the need for foreign economic aid also.

It seems odd that both India and Pakistan should spend so much of their limited resources on defence forces which are too small against the aggression of the larger powers, and too large against that of the smaller ones, and at the same time accept foreign economic aid! Diversion from defence to development will build up both the nations, without either being a military danger to the other.

Whether Pakistan reciprocates or not, or until she does so, India may well reduce her military expenditure to about Rs 100 crores with adequate safety, and minimize her dependence on foreign economic aid. The retrenched military personnel may well be employed as far as possible for development work, where their training in discipline and national spirit will be a great asset. Let India, with faith, courage and safety, lead in disarmament and development.

(Abridged)

AS OTHERS SEE US
II

One day Mr John Seymour and his Madras friends talked of prohibition (*Round about India*, p. 73).

'For us,' said the Major, 'prohibition is absurd, but not for the working class. A friend of mine who has a textile mill told me that now there is prohibition, his workers do twice as much work. Or they would at least if only the prohibition were properly enforced.'

'For simple villagers may be prohibition is good,' he (Number one) said. 'You see, John, we Indians, when we drink, we do not know where to stop. We do of course. We are educated men. But the villager does not. You will see in a village the wealthier ryots will take to drink. A respected man will put a towel over his face so that he cannot be recognized and make his way to the toddy shop. There he will find a group of hangers-on. They will drink half the night, and soon he will not bother about the towel. All the world can see him there. And they will talk aloud and sing — and sometimes fight — and he will spend all his money, and soon his children will have to go without food.'

'Yet, so many of our families are ruined like that,' said Kutti.

'And here in the city,' said the Major, 'even the rickshaw coolies spend all their earnings on drink. As soon as they have earned a rupee they go and drink it. And also the mill workers. Prohibition is to see that their children get enough food. And also to see they are fit to work.'

'Does it do what it's supposed to?' I asked.

'Of course not,' said Number one. 'Nobody takes any notice of it. It just gives employment to a huge army of prohibition guards, who are without exception the biggest rascals in the State. How can you have prohibition when there's a toddy palm every few yards of the landscape? The only difference now is that the Government loses the revenue....And nobody drinks any less.'

'In Bombay there are special people for going to jail,' said Kutti. 'The bootleggers carry on their business; every now and then the police have to make an arrest, so one of these men comes forward and gets himself arrested. He goes to jail for six months; the bootleggers keep his wife and children and pay him a lump sum when he comes out.'

....All agreed it would be best if the poor in India drank less or were prohibited from drinking at all; but that in fact prohibition failed to achieve either of these objects. Prohibition does not work; and that was that.

V. G. D.

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